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to the public by Professor Firth. To these Mr. Simpkinson adds little, and since the whole is hardly sufficient to fill up the space at his disposal, he seems to have felt compelled to pad by giving a history of the times. Worse still, he is not master of this material, and so gives it to the reader almost in its raw state. A good half of his book consists of quotations, and long quotations. Thus in one chapter, after some brief extracts, he gives eight pages from Thurloe, followed immediately by a half-page from Roger Williams, which in turn is succeeded by almost as long an extract from the *Clarendon Papers*, after which comes a passage from Ludlow, which is then followed by a five-page letter from Thurloe to Monk, which is almost immediately succeeded by two more pages from Ludlow. This is not the way to write history. It is all the more to be regretted, since if Mr. Simpkinson had given his time and attention to a presentation of the beliefs, purposes and status of the Fifth-Monarchy men he would have had sufficient material to fill the space and would have been presenting matter which was germane and indeed essential to his subject. He, of course, gives us some information on these heads, but in a fragmentary and imperfect fashion.

What is said above sufficiently indicates his method of writing history; his ability goes but little beyond his method. His quotations are inexact; he is not discriminating in his use of authorities; his evidence occasionally fails to bear out the assertions based upon it; and his judgment is not sound, for he goes so far as to say that "there is good authority for considering" Harrison "to have possessed at one time even greater power in the army than Oliver Cromwell". The most valuable part of the book is the Appendix, containing the nineteen extant letters of Harrison. These have all been printed before.

John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, 1648-1689. By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY. (London: Archibald Constable and Company. 1905. Pp. viii, 377.)

SOME fifteen years ago the anonymous author of *The Despot's Champion* wrote in her preface that the career of Claverhouse "has given rise to controversy quite out of proportion to its historical importance". And, relatively speaking, the professional soldier employed to suppress conventicles in the south-western counties, or even the heroic leader of a cause doomed to failure from the start does not loom very large among the countless persons and problems which crowd the pages of British history. Nevertheless, the representations of credulous and partisan martyrologists and the fame of *Old Mortality* and *Bonnie Dundee* have perpetuated in Claverhouse a figure grewsome and romantic. As a traditional bogey leagued with the devil, and as an heroic successor of Montrose, he continues to live.

Although Claverhouse found a defender nearly two centuries ago in the Jacobite *Memoirs of 1714*, his notable vindication first appeared in Mark Napier's three-volume work (1859-1862); since then he has

figured as one of Mr. Andrew Lang's "English Worthies" in a brief volume by Mr. Mowbray Morris (1887). *Clavers: The Despot's Champion*, by "A Southern," another defense, appeared in 1889; but it is professedly little more than a rearrangement of Napier's material. Mr. Henderson's careful article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, while it corrected some previous errors of detail, is naturally hardly more than an outline of facts. Finally, Mr. Terry, an acknowledged authority on the period, having noted shortcomings and imperfections in the preceding works, thinks the time has come to tell the story again, and submits his work to the public in the hope that he has been able "to present a rounder and more complete picture of Claverhouse than has hitherto been available, and to dissipate the appalling number of errors which for very lack of careful probing, have come to be accepted as unchallengeable facts in the record of his career." Much may be said in favor of the undertaking. New sources of material have been opened of late, and, moreover, Napier overlooked or misinterpreted much that was accessible to him. Furthermore, apart from faults of temper and arrangement which characterize his great work, it is far too bulky for any but the special student.

Strictly observing the injunction *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, the present author makes no effort to use his subject for a treatise on the "causes and significance" of the revolution of 1689, though he aims to connect Claverhouse with the policy he was appointed to carry out and to contribute somewhat to the military history of the Restoration and post-Restoration in Scotland.

While the general impression of Claverhouse that the reader will take away from these pages will perhaps not differ greatly from the sensible estimate of Mr. Mowbray Morris, it will naturally rest on surer grounds; since here he has been privileged to enter the courtroom, to have the vast and complicated mass of evidence laid before him, and to see it examined with great honesty and acumen. While it is, no doubt, the apogee of the microscopic method to devote a careful enquiry to prove that Claverhouse was shot in the left eye and not in the body, future historians will reap the fruit of many of these painstaking studies. More than one popular error is blasted, as for example, Claverhouse's importance at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and his insubordination in pursuing the rebels against Monmouth's orders. After a re-reading of Mackay's narrative in the light of a personal examination of the ground Mr. Terry has been able to fix a new and, it would seem, more exact site for the battle of Killiecrankie.

By keenly dissecting the stories of Claverhouse's alleged atrocities he furnishes ampler and more convincing proof than ever before of their exaggeration. His conclusion deserves quoting.

"It appears then," he says, "that the number of lives taken by Claverhouse in a period of the severest political crisis was precisely ten. In the case of eight of these ten Claverhouse stands exonerated, either by the circumstances of their condemnation, or by the circumstances under

which they met their death, from the charge of arbitrary, cold-blooded, or vindictive blood-letting. Two cases alone stand, in which, upon his own initiative, Claverhouse exacted the death-penalty. In one of them absolutely, in the second of them with almost equal certainty, Claverhouse was no more than the agent in the carrying out of a sentence to which its victims were legally and knowably liable. The traditional Claverhouse of Wodrow, Howie, Defoe, and their unquestioning modern disciple Macaulay, is familiar. 'Murdered by Bloody Clavers' is the conventional epitaph of rebel martyrs in whose death he had no particle of share. 'Bloody' in disposition he was not. 'Bloody' in execution he was not. Of the refinement of cruelty which condemned the Wigton martyrs to a lingering death there is in Claverhouse not a trace. The conclusion is insistent, that had he died plain John Graham of Claverhouse, and not Viscount of Dundee, the one availing personality in Scotland in militant sympathy with the discredited policy of a Despot whose Champion he was, 'Bloody' Clavers had never been created to confound 'Bonnie' Dundee, and the tombstones of the murdered martyrs had been purer for lack of the conventional libel of him."

Although Mr. Terry scathingly condemns those who originated these legends and those who accept them (see, *e. g.*, pp. 201-203), he is no special pleader against the Kirk and the Whigs, and makes no attempt to place Claverhouse in a fairer light than the facts warrant. What he shows us is a man austere, unflinching in performance of his duty, and effective just because he believed implicitly in the policy he was employed to execute. At times, particularly as Sheriff of Wigton, he was even inclined to mildness; but only when he thought it paid; thereby "showing a nice discrimination in the economy of punitive effort."

Owing to the prevailingly minute discussion of details and the formidable array of evidence cited the book promises to be hard sledding for the general reader. Here and there, however, attractive bits are offered, notably the accounts of Claverhouse's courtships of Helen Graham and Jean Cochrane. He failed in his first venture, although after beginning his suit from purely interested motives he finally became so enamored as to offer to take the lady "in her smoak." His second wooing was successful, but those were stirring times when the bridegroom had to leave his wedding festivities to ride down a suspected conventicle.

There seem to be few statements of fact or opinion to which one can take exception. "Three centuries" (p. 1) should obviously be two, the statement (p. 100) that Argyle refused to take the Test is not strictly accurate: he offered to take it in a modified form. The "monotonously opportune Protestant wind" (p. 237) only came after William of Orange had already been seriously repulsed by the elements. Finally, the attempt to prove that Dundee, after the expulsion of James, kept to the letter his promise to William "to live quietly unless he were forced" is not altogether convincing. The text is illustrated by two portraits of Claverhouse and one of his wife. The sketch-map of Dundee's campaign of April-July 1689 is of great assistance in following his move-

ments; but the careful map to illustrate the site of Killiecrankie could have been made more useful by marking on it the positions of the troops engaged. Three appendices discuss the history of Claverhouse's regiment, his death at Killiecrankie, and his alleged letter to James announcing his victory.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Mirabeau and the French Revolution. By CHARLES F. WARWICK. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1905. Pp. 483.)

THE publication of this volume was due to an afterthought. The author began to write "with the intention of preparing a course of lectures", but later "decided to put the material gathered into book form". The second thought was not a happy one, for whatever merit the work may have possessed as a course of lectures it is neither a satisfactory biography of Mirabeau nor a clear, sound and well connected synthesis of the early Revolution.

An account of Mirabeau and the French Revolution in less than five hundred pages can be, even at its best, little else than a masterly sketch, more or less popular in character, but it need not be, for that reason, unscientific, meaning by this that it need not everywhere betray the ignorance of the writer concerning the results of recent investigations touching Mirabeau and the Revolution. It is reasonable to expect, then, that the author of such a volume as this, before beginning to write, should acquaint himself with the best literature on the subject. As far as I can judge from the text—there are no foot-notes—the knowledge of Mr. Warwick concerning what has been written upon Mirabeau is inadequate. It is not to be expected that the writer of a work of this description will familiarize himself with the sources, but he should at least have read all the important monographs that alone can supply him with a sound basis of fact. Here and there, somewhat capriciously and often, it would seem, at second hand, the sources are quoted. Some use, how much I cannot tell, has been made of the classical work of Louis and Charles de Loménie. The reference made to the life of Mirabeau by Professor Stern is of such a character that one might be pardoned for doubting if Mr. Warwick had ever read it. Of the writings of Guibal, Leloir, Joly, Cottin, Dauphin Meunier, Welschinger, Wild, Raynal, Decrue, Gradnauer, and the excellent short biographies by Mezières and Rousse I recall no mention, but the volume abounds in citations from Carlyle, Guizot, Alison, McCarthy, Von Holst, Willert and—Watson. Such dependence upon outgrown or popular or semi-popular literature, such lack of discrimination in associating, for example, Von Holst and Willert with Watson, such ignorance of the latest and best monographic works might reasonably give rise to doubts as to the soundness of the narrative.

And such doubts have a solid foundation. The same lack of critical spirit that marks the bibliographical work is encountered also in the attitude of the author toward the evidence. His inaccuracies are numer-